

#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

200 AUG 19 (2:00

MUR No. <u>6054</u>

In the matter of:

Vern Buchanan Don Caldwell Brad Combs

Venice Nissan Dodge Sarasota 500, LLC, d/b/a Sarasota Ford Buchanan Automotive

Holdings, Inc.

COMPLAINT

1. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington ("CREW"), Melanie Sloan, Carlo A. Bell and David J. Padilla bring this complaint before the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") seeking an immediate investigation and enforcement action against Vern Buchanan, Don Caldwell, Brad Combs, Venice Nissan Dodge, Sarasota 500, LLC d/b/a Sarasota Ford and Buchanan Automotive Holdings, Inc. for direct and serious violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA").

#### **Complainmts**

- 2. Complainant CREW is a non-profit corporation, organized under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. CREW is committed to protecting the right of citizens to be informed about the activities of government officials and to ensuring the integrity of government officials. CREW is dedicated to empowering citizens to have an influential voice in government decisions and in the governmental decision-making process. CREW uses a combination of research, litigation, and advocacy to advance its mission.
- 3. In furtherance of its mission, CREW seeks to expose unethical and illegal conduct of those involved in government. One way CREW does this is by educating citizens regarding the integrity of the electoral process and our system of government.

  Toward this end, CREW moniture the campaign finance activities of those who rese for

federal office and publicizes those who violate federal campaign finance laws.

Through its website, press releases and other methods of distribution, CREW also files complaints with the FEC when it discovers violations of the FECA. Publicizing campaign finance violators and filing complaints with the FEC serves CREW's mission of keeping the public informed about individuals and entities who violate campaign finance laws and deterring future violations of campaign finance law.

- 4. In order to assess whether an individual, candidate, political committee or other regulated entity is complying with federal campaign finance law, CREW needs the information contained in receipts and disbursements reports that political committees must file pursuant to the FECA, 2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.1. CREW is hindered in its programmatic activity when an individual, candidate, political committee or other regulated entity fails to disclose campaign finance information in reports of receipts and disbursements required by the FECA.
- 5. CREW relies on the FEC's proper administration of the FECA's reporting requirements because the FECA-mandated reports of receipts and disbursements are the only source of information CREW cm use to determine if a candidate, political committee or other regulated entity is complying with the FECA. The proper administration of the FECA's reporting requirements includes mandating that all reports of receipts and disbursements required by the FECA are properly and timely filed with the FEC. CREW is hindered in its programmatic activity when the FEC fails to properly administer the FECA's reporting requirements.
- 6. Complainant Melanie Sloan is the executive director of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, a citizen of the United States and a registered voter and resident of the District of Columbia. Carlo A. Bell and David J. Padilla are citizens of the United States and registered voters and residents of the Thisteenth

Congressional District of Florida. As registered voters, Ms. Sloan, Mr. Bell and Mr. Padilla are entitled to receive information contained in reports of receipts and disbursements required by the FECA, 2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.1. Ms. Sloan, Mr. Bell and Mr. Padilla are harmed when a candidate, political committee or other regulated entity fixils to report campaign finance activity as required by the FECA. See FEC v. Assim. 524 U.S. 11, 19 (1998), quoting Parakity v. Valuo. 424 U.S. 1, 66-67 (1976) (politital committees must disclose contributors and disbursements to help voters understand who provides which candidates with financial support). Ms. Sloan, Mr. Bell and Mr. Padilla are further harmed when the FEC fails to properly administer the FECA's reporting requirements, limiting their ability to review campaign finance information.

#### Respondents

7. Vern Buchanan is a United States Congressman representing the Thirteenth Congressional District of Florida. Vern Buchanan is also, on information and belief, the sole shareholder of Buchanan Automotive Holdings, Inc. ("BAPI"). BAH is, on information and belief, the managing member of five Florida limited distribility communics that operate five different automobile dealerships, including Venice Nissan Dodge and Sarasota 500, L.L.C. d/b/a Sarasota Ford ("Sarasota Ford"). Don Caldwell is a pastner in Venice Nissan Dodge. Brad Combs is a finance manager at Venice Nissan Dodge.

#### Factual Allegations

8. According to the sworn affidavits of Carlo A. Bell and David J. Padilla, attached hereto as Exhibits A and D respectively, as well as multiple news accounts, at least seven employees of BAH automobile dealerships, including employees of Venice Nissan Dodge and Sarasota Ford, were either reimbursed with corporate funds for making \$1,900 contributions to Rep. Buchanan's 2006 congressional campaign, or were socreed into making contributions to Rep. Buchanan's 2006 congressional campaign.

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- 9. The affidavit of Carlo A. Bell, the former finance director at Venice Nissan Dodge, states that on September 15, 2005, Don Caldwell, the general manager of Venice Nissan Dodge, called him into a meeting with Jack Prater, the Dodge sales manager, and Jason Martin, the Dodge finance manager and Mr. Caldwell's nephew. Exhibit A at ¶ 2. "Mr. Caldwell shut the door to the office and told the three of us that we needed to contribute to the campaign of Vern Businanan, who was then running for Congress in Florida's 13th congressional district. Mr. Caldwell was holding each in his hand at the time and said that the company would reimbarse us far our contributions. He explained that the company would give us \$1,000 cash in exchange for our writing \$1,000 checks to the campaign." Exhibit A at ¶ 3. Mr. Bell asked Mr. Caldwell if this was legal. "Mr. Caldwell did not answer [the] question, instead asking . . . if I was on the team or not . . . Afraid that [he] might lose [his] job if [he] refused, [Mr. Bell] replied yes, [he] was a part of the team and agreed to write the check." Exhibit A at ¶ 4.
- in cash to both Mr. Preser and Mr. Mastin, who accepted it. Exhibit A at ¶ 5. Mr. Bell later discussed the moeting with Mr. Preser and Mr. Mastin, and they all agreed that it seemed serving to accept \$1,000 in cash to write cheens to the Ekuchanan campaign, "but we were all afraid that refusing to do so might endanger our employment with Venice Nissan Dodge." Exhibit A at ¶ 6. Mr. Bell subsequently learned that two other Venice Nissan Dodge employees, Marvin White and William Mullins, also received \$1,000 cash reimbursements when they agreed to write checks to the Buchanan campaign. Exhibit A at ¶ 8. See also Vern Buchanan for Congress, FEC Form 3. October Quarterly Report, October 14, 2005, pp. 76, 88, 99, 129 (attached as Exhibit C).
- 11. On September 15, 2905, the same day he was given the \$1,000 by Mr.

  Caldwell, Mr. Bell deposited \$960 in cash to ills bank account, keeping the remaining \$40 for spanding money. On September 17, 2005, Mr. Ball wrote a classk to the Buchanan

campaign for \$1,000. Exhibit A at ¶ 7. Copies of the deposit slip and Mr. Bell's cancelled check are attached as Exhibit B.

- affidavit of David J. Padiila, who was a finance manager at Venice Nissan Dodge at the time. According to Mr. Padiila's affidavit, in September 2995 he was appreached by Brad Combs, another finance manager at Venice Nissan Dodge, who told him that "Mr. Buchason needed compaign contributions and that anyone who made a contribution would get his money back plus additional compensation." Enhibit D at ¶ 2. When Mr. Padilla refused to participate in the reimbursement scheme, Mr. Combs told him "that all of the managers were being asked to contribute and that many were planning to accept reimbursements in exchange for contributions." Exhibit D at ¶ 4. Mr. Padilla later discovered that several other Venice Nissan Dodge employees, including Mr. Bell, Mr. Prater and Mr. Martin, had been reimbursed for making \$1,000 contributions to Mr. Buchanan's congressional campaign. Exhibit D at ¶ 5&6.
- Joseph Keerr, the feather finance director of Sarasota Ford, told the Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call that he personally observed campaign finance vicinities alread of Rep. Buchanan's 2006 general election and that some of the \$8 million spent by the Buchanan campagn in 2006 "was laundered corporate cash funneled through higher-ups at Buchanan's numerous dealerships." Matthew Murray, Buchanan Faces Another Lawsuit, Roll Call, June 2, 2008 (attached as Exhibit E). Mr. Kezer told Roll Call that "he personally fielded phone calls from other dealership executives wanting to know whether company reimbursement checks they had cashed put them in legal peril. 'After it happened, a couple of [managers] contacted me because they were concerned,' Kezer said. 'I didn't know at the time . . . whether it was a good thing or a bad thing.' See Exhibit E.

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#### COUNTI

- 14. FECA and FEC regulations specifically prohibit corporations from using job discrimination, financial reprisals, or the threat of job discrimination or financial reprisals to force employees to make political contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(3)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 114.5(a)(1). Corporations are also prohibited from facilitating the making of contributions to festeral candidates. FEC regulations specifically hite as an enemple of illegal perporate facilitation "Using coercion, such as the threat of a demineral jab action, the treat of any other financial reprisal, or the threat of force, to urge any individual to make a contribution or engage in fundraising activities on behalf of a candidate or political committee." 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f)(2)(iv).
- 15. By using coercion, including the implied threat of detrimental job action, to force employees of the Buchanan automobile dealerships to make contributions to the 2006 Buchanan campaign, Vem Buchanan, Don Caldwell, Brad Combs, Venice Nissan Dodge, Sarasota Ford and BAH all violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(3)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2.

#### **CGUNT II**

- 16. FECA and FEC regulations both prohibit the making of a contribution in the name of a person other than the true source of the contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441f, 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(i).
- 17. By reimbursing employees for contributions made to the 2005 Buchanan campaign, Vann Bunhaman, Don Caldwell, Brad Combs, Venice Nissan Dodge, Sarasota Ford and BAH all violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f and 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(i).

#### COUNT III

18. FECA and FEC regulations both prohibit corporations from making consection with any fedical election, including elections for the House of

Representatives. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(a).

19. By reimbursing employees with corporate funds for contributions made to the 2006 Buchanan campaign, BAH, Venice Nissan Dodge and Sarasota Ford, and Vern Buchanan, Don Caldwell and Brad Combs, as officers or directors of BAH and/or Venice Nissan Dodge and/or Saratoga Ford, violated both 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(a).

#### **CONCLUSION**

WHEREFORE, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, Melanie Sloan, Carlo Bell and David Padilla request that the Federal Election Commission conduct an investigation into these allegations, declare the respondents to have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act and applicable FEC regulations, and impose sanctions appropriate to these violations and take such further action as may be appropriate, including referring this case to the Justice Department for investigation of any violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b(a) & 441f.

#### Verification

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, Melanie Sloan, Carlo Bell and David Padilla, acting through Melanie Sloan, hereby verify that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon information and belief, true.

Sworn pursuapt to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

Melanie Sloan

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of August, 2008.

District of Columbia: 88

Subscribed and swom to before one, in ray presence.

NAOMI SELIGMAN STEINER NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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My commission expires ( 201 30, 2011

## **EXHIBIT A**

#### Affidavit of Carlo A. Bell

- 1. I was employed at Venice Nissan Dodge in Sarasota, Florida from 2001 through 2007.
- 2. On September 15, 2005, while I was serving as Venice Nissan Dodge's finance director, Don Caldwell, the general manager for the company and my direct supervisor, called me into a meeting in the office of Jack Prater, Dodge sales manager. Also present was Jason Martin. Dodge finance manager and Mr. Caldwell's nephew.
- 3. Mr. Caldwell shut the door to the office and told the three of us that we needed to contribute to the campaign of Vern Buchanan, who was then running for Congress in Florida's 13<sup>th</sup> congressional district. Mr. Chläwell was holding cuth in his hand at the time and said that the sampany would reiniscuss us for our consiliusions. He amplained that the company while give us \$1,200 cath in each age for our verting \$1,000 caths to the campings.
- 4. I told Mr. Caldwell that this did not seem right to me and asked him if it was legal. Mr. Caldwell did not answer my question, instead asking me if I was on the team or not. I sat quietly for a minute looking at Mr. Caldwell who stared back at me, waiting for my answer. Afraid that I might lose my job if I refused, I replied yes, I was a part of the team and agreed to write the check.
- 5. Mr. Caldwell handed one \$1,000 in cont. Neither Mr. Prator nor Mr. Meetin spoke, but Ms. Caldwell handed them \$1,000 in cash as well, which they accepted.
- 6. After leaving the collect, I discussed the matter with the. Preme and Mr. Morain and we all agreed that taking \$1,600 in each for writing checks to the campaign seemed wrong, but we were all afraid that refusing to do so might endanger our employment with Venice Nissan Dodge.
- 7. The day after Mr. Caldwell gave me the \$1,000, I made a cash deposit to my bank in the amount of \$960, but kept the other \$40. The day of the deposit, I wrote a check to the Buchanan campaign and handed it to Mr. Caldwell. Copies of the deposit slip verifying the \$960 deposit and my check to the Buchanan campaign are attached.
- 8. I inter discovered that two other Venice Nissan Dodge employers, Marvin White, the used car manager, and William hardling, a salesman, also received \$1,000 cash reimbursements when they agreed to unite checks to the Buchanan campaign.
- 9. Prior to writing the check to the Buchanan campaign, I had never contributed to a political campaign and have not written checks to any other campaigns since that time.

I hereby attest, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
My Commission Expires June 30, 2011

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## **EXHIBIT B**

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## **EXHIBIT D**

#### Affidavit of David J. Padilla

- I was a finance manager at Venice Nissan Dodge and Sarasota Ford in Sarasota, Florida from 2002 through 2007.
- In September 2005, after Vernon Buchanan announced he was running for Congress. Brad Combs, another finance manager, came into my office and told me that Mr. Buchanan needed campaign contributions and that anyone who made a contribution would get his money back plus additional compensation.
- When Mr. Combs saked me if I wanted in on the deal, I replied, "you have to be out of your mind." I told Mr. Combs that accepting reimbursement for making a campaign contribution is against the law.
- Mr. Cerabs told me that all of the managers were being asked to contribute and that many were planning to accept reimbursements in exchange for contributions. I said that I was not going to participate.
- Soon thereafter, Carlo Bell, the finance director, told me that he had taken the deal and 5. accepted reimbursement in return for making a contribution to the Buchanan campaign.
- 6. I later discounted that several other emplement, invitaling Jack Parter and Jacom Martin. also had have mimbersed for making contributions to Mr. Banhanne's cangressional campaign.

I hereby attest, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

NAOMI SELIGMAN STEINER PRY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLLI

## **EXHIBIT E**

PRINTER-PRIENDLY PORMAT SMONSORED BY



#### **Buchanan Faces Another Lawsuit**

June 2, 2008 By Matthew Murray Roll Call Sabf

The latest in a series of lawsuits against Rep. Vern Buchanan (R-Fla.) alleging consumer fraud at car dealerships he owns was filed last week, turning up the heat on the freshman lawmaker and setting the stage for a long, hot summer in central Florida.

Individuals close to the lawruits are also signaling that allegations of campaign finance violations by Buchanan could become a key plank in the growing caseload against the lawmaker — lawsuits that could number seven by July 1.

These charges are expensed to include the illegal functions of dealership money last cycle into Buchanan's campaign account.

Joseph Kezer, a former finance director at Buchanan's Sarasota Ford dealership, claimed in court papers filed Thursday that he was fired last year for exposing "fraudulent practices being employed in the sale and financing of new and used cars."

"There was so much fraud in and cut of the place," Eeser said Friday in an interview with Roll Call. "They were putting so much pressure on me to both look the other way and participate ... I kept telling them, 'no,' to the point that it cust me my job."

According to Kesse's complaint, employees at Bushamen's dealership lied and forged signatures on automotive loan applications as well as mislad custamers, all while bilking Ford Mutor Co. for bunuses by fraudulently morting sales quotas.

Buchanan, business partner Darrin Chrisman and a dealership sales manager are named in the lawsuit.

Kezer also alleged in an interview with Roll Call that he observed campaign finance violations ahead of Buchanan's narrow 2006 victory against bank executive Christine Jennings (D). In the most expensive House race last cycle, Buchanan spent more than \$5 million of his own money, according to CQ MoneyLine, to win by 369 votes.

Buchenen is expected to face a rematch with Jennings in Marember.

Some of the Buchanen campaign's record \$8 million outlay in the 2006 campaign, according to Kezer, likely was laundered corporate cash funneled through higher-ups at Buchanan's numerous dealerships.

The former finance director told Roll Call that he personally fielded phone calls from other dealership executives wanting to know whether company reimbulsement checks they had cashed put them in legal peril.

"After it happened, a couple of [managers] contacted me because they were concerned," Reservaid. "I didn't know at the time ... whether it was a good thing or a last thing." Buchanan spokeswoman Sally Tibbetts declined to answer Kezer's charges, saying only that "it's the campaign's policy that all campaign countibutions are within FEC regulations."

The lawmaker's business partner, Chrisman, however, dismissed charges of consumer fraud at the dealership outright, calling Kessr "a disgruntled former employee."

"He was terminated seven months ago for poor performance," Chrisman said. "All of the charges are false. It's just a matter of sour grapes."

Chrisman also dismissed lawsuits filed May 21 by Willie Lee, another former dealership employee. In court papers, Lee alleged that he is owed back pay and was wrongly charged service fees at the dealership.

According to Christma, Let was fired from the dealership "for poor cartesiar satisfaction." He also questioned the motives behind Lee's lawsuit, which is seeking back pay for unused vacation and for a service fee he incurred when personally buying a vehicle from the dealership.

"If you're terminated, you're not entitled to your vacation pay, according to documents that he signed when he was hired," Chrisman said. "And he never came to us ... all of the sudden he just wants a couple of weeks vacation [pay]?"

Regarding affigures that Buchanan misused corporate money to finance his 2006 run, Chrisman declined to comment. He also questioned the motives behind naming Buchanan in the suit, calling him "basically a silent investor." Still, he confirmed the Congressman's corporate offices were once located at the Sarasota Ford dealership.

"I came on the seam in Moramber 2006, so I am not really privy to what happened before," Chrismen said.

Lee and Kezer are just two of the ex-Buchanan employees — as well as two consumers — represented by Douglas Lyons, a consumer rights attorney who is working with an automotive fraud activist, Duane Overholt, in building the case against Buchanan and his dealerships.

In an interview Friday, Lyons declined to elaborate on any future lawsuits system Buchaman, but confirmed that he represents makingle people who have first count pages against the lawsular or his businesses.

"All I can say at this point: Where there's smoke, there's fire. We're familiar with at least four dealerships where the same activities are comming, [smd] the only common thread is [Bachanan's] conserving, "Lyons said. "Rased upon what we see, there are a number of illegal activities going on at a number of different dealerships."

Buchanan's office confirmed the lawmaker is a "passive investor" in five dealerships.

Overhoft, who has shepherded numerous class-action lawsuits and is working with seven Buchanan whistleblowers, speculated that it may be difficult for the lawnaker to distance himself from the allegations.

"With the focusests we have, the luxurisdge of hav car dealess sperate ... his dealess' agreements, as well as the statements from our clients, there's no way Buchanan could not have known," Overholt said.

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